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THE LONG, HARD ROAD

IN entering this war we are undertaking no easy task; we are entering upon a long, hard road. Almost as in the twinkling of an eye we find ourselves deeply concerned with such matters as the salvation of Belgium and France, and with the credits of all our allied nations. We seem to be fighting to maintain the British Empire on the one hand, and on the other to change the government of Germany by force. The centralization of power in the hands of the few proceeds apace. At the same time that we are trying to make the world safe for democracy, England has suppressed her democratic journals, or prevented their circulation, even in this country; at least this is true of *The Nation*, *Common Sense*, *The Labor Leader*, the *Cambridge Magazine*. In that land four thousand democrats, socialists, labor leaders are in jail as political prisoners. Our respect for small states must be very embarrassing to England as she contemplates Ireland; indeed, we shall find it more and more difficult to square our own theories with our own practice towards our immediate south. To clear up the difficulties involved in situations like these is no easy job.

If to these matters we add the task of breaking up the U-boat business, of perpetuating constitutional safeguards, of punishing Germany, the thing becomes still more difficult. But the end is not yet. We must soon answer the question, Do we fight that England may hold India, Persia, and the German colonies? We shall soon be asked for our demands regarding Armenia, a dismembered Turkey, and German "rights in Mesopotamia." It is now time for us to ask ourselves what disposition we feel should be made of Constantinople, Finland, and Ukrainia. We are to be consulted about the dismemberment of Austria, the disposition of Trentino, and Albania. What shall our position be? And then there are "Eastern Problems" which we shall have to help solve.

All of these matters present difficulties for us which we shall find it very difficult to escape. International relations constitute at last a tremendous challenge to our best thought and political wisdom. For this reason every constructive worker for international peace must welcome studies like that which we print elsewhere in these columns under the heading "*International Legislation and Administration*," by Alpheus H. Snow. It will be observed that Mr. Snow considers the Hague Conferences as bearing the same relation to a governed world as a constitutional convention bears to the political affairs of a state. International legislation, grants Mr. Snow, will continue to be formulated by national legislatures and treaty-making organs; but to these he would add an "*International Directorate*" having full charge

of the judicial and administrative aspects of international political effort. The present Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Projected Court of Arbitral Justice would come under the control of this International Directorate, in cooperation, of course, with the executives of the nations involved. Mr. Snow proposes that the sanctions for our international organs and processes must consist of what he happily calls "persuasive force." But Mr. Snow's contribution should be carefully read to be understood.

Attention is here called to Mr. Snow's article for the reason that all of the difficulties now confronting us, and destined to confront us still more seriously, must be approached and contributed to in the light of our large and most pressing demand, namely, that nations shall first set up the necessary organs and provide for the necessary processes that shall make the statement, the interpretation, and the application of the laws of justice between nations possible. If we neglect this, if we fail here, the road towards the composition of our difficulties will be long indeed.

THE RUSSIAN TERMS

THE world has already been profoundly influenced by the revolution in Russia. The nations do not forget that the Russian revolution of 1905 was followed by popular uprisings in Turkey, Prussia, Portugal, and China. It is reasonable to assume that the present success of the forces of democracy in Russia are widely and profoundly influencing aspirations of men for democracy again.

It is true that we are far from understanding it all. The Czar has been overthrown, a result accomplished by the Russian revolutionists. Among these revolutionists were the workers and soldiers, among whom there were many Socialists. With that wing of the Socialists most impregnated with that type of socialism known as "international socialism," there has been and still is a demand for "immediate peace." Then, too, there are the priests and representatives of the old régime distributed throughout Russia with a strong leaning toward a counter-revolution. The agrarian problems in Russia, the imperialism of the liberal bourgeoisie, the recent appeal of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies to the Socialists of the warring nations in the interest of an immediate universal peace, "the glorious struggle and defiance of the Russian proletariat," the possible fate of the various nationalities throughout that wide area, all present a somewhat blurred and bewildering picture to the average American mind.

The whole situation, however, was considerably clarified, June 21, when Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakh-